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**BRITAIN REGENERATED :**

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OR,

# **THE NATIONAL DEBT**

SHEWN CAPABLE OF

*IMMEDIATE REDEMPTION.*

WITH SOME REMARKS ON

**THE ELECTIONEERING SYSTEM.**

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“Think not that impossible, which but seems *unlike*.”

“Our doubts are traitors,  
And make us lose the good we oft might win  
By fearing to attempt,”

Shakespear.

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BRIDGNORTH :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY GITTON AND SMITH.

*Sold also by*

Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster  
Row ; and Hatchard, Piccadilly, London ;  
and by all other Booksellers.

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1831.





TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

**VISCOUNT ALTHORP.**

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MY LORD,

The correct view, which your Lordship's matured mind has taken of the Public interest, and the correct principle, which has determined you to enforce it or to decline office, have excited the hopes, the confidence, and the admiration of all parties in this country, and will, it may be confidently expected, enlist them under one common bond of union, in your favour and support.

Amongst the various objects, that must demand your Lordship's consideration, there is none of equal magnitude to that of the Public Debt, or, of greater moment. Before this all pervading, all obstructing evil, this,

## **PREFACE.**

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TO encourage the Reader to proceed with more alacrity in the perusal of the following pages, I shall in the outset, endeavour to dispel some of those fears, which the ponderous and colossal magnitude of the subject has always excited, by stating the basis on which the practicability of the measure I am about to suggest, rests : it is on this important and incontrovertible truth ; viz.

**THAT THE NATIONAL DEBT IS, MAINLY, A  
DEBT DUE TO THE NATION ITSELF.**

It is owing to no Foreign power or body ; it is at once a debt due TO and FROM the PUBLIC, and is thereby capable of arrangement and adjustment, without any infringement of private right, or any infraction of public faith, because it involves the principle of mutual and reciprocal compensation.

The candour of the Reader is appealed to, whether the Measures herein proposed, and the accompanying suggestions, would not obviously be attended with these recommendations and advantages,—viz. *In that which respects the Redemption of the National Debt.*

That it is simple and intelligible.

That it is practical, effectual, and of easy and ready adoption.

That it is beneficial to all, and injurious to none.

That it removes all objectionable Taxation.

That it places the Fundholder at ease, by the firmest conviction that his contract will be faithfully adhered to.

That it studiously regards the feelings as well as the convenience of the Landholder.

That it is courteous and accommodating throughout in its principle, embracing every considerate relief, where any reasonable claim thereto, may exist.

That it sweeps away the whole fabric, almost, of undue patronage; by which, Administration is precluded from the importunities of placemen and pensioners, and thus, has a moral effect on the representation.

That it provides for those thrown out of employ, with reasonable liberality.

That it benefits agriculture, commerce, and manufacture, by improving the *relative* value of its produce.

That it encourages labour and industry, by diminishing the cost of consumption.

That it promotes consumption, by improving the condition of the labourer.

That it annihilates all gambling speculation in the Funds, by their liquidation.

That it prevents that sudden and frequent variation in the value of Property, by the removal of this species of speculation.

That it checks all over-estimate of individual property, by establishing a correct knowledge of its nett amount.

That it operates to encourage a salutary economy, by exciting a desire to disencumber property of all public and private incumbrance.

That by the power given to do this, at all times, and in smaller amounts, such facility is created, as must materially dissipate all fear, from any of greater magnitude.

That it precludes all objection, but what arises from fastidious or prejudiced feelings.

That it furnishes Government with ample and justifiable precedents, whereby they may repel and overpower all such objections.

That it points out the means whereby Government may satisfy the Public mind of all fair dealing in the measure.

*That with respect to its effect on the Representation,*

it places the Elective Franchise in hands least to be suspected of prostituting its principles, and excludes all means of corruption, by greatly extending the number of voters where they are now confined to a few. It also diminishes materially, the cost of Election.

The Reader's attention is particularly requested to the under-mentioned correction to page 26, or the passage may be deemed obscure ;—it should read thus,—

“They seem to have been unconscious that relative value *is* the only true and correct value.”

Page 8, line 12, dele *a* before vital.

— 19, — 13, for 57, read 27.

— 20, — 10, for *Rental*, read *Rentals*.

— 24, — 21, for *elsewhere*, read *otherwise*.

— 26, — 1, for 5 per cent, read 2.



THE  
**NATIONAL DEBT**

*Shewn capable of*

**IMMEDIATE REDEMPTION.**

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**T**HERE are few things of either human contrivance or human construction, which, if viewed with industrious and determined impartiality and divested of every consideration of interest or prejudice, will be found very intricate or mysterious. The subjects, I am about to consider, are not essentially such, either as regards their occurrence or their removal.

These subjects embrace no less than those two formidable evils, which now afflict this great Country; and which, in spite of the predominant excellency of its constitution, the general extension of knowledge, and the allowed freedom of political debate, are suffered to exist and to extend themselves over the body politic, without any ef-

fectual effort towards a cure; although, they are slowly but surely working its destruction.

**These are OVERWHELMING TAXATION  
and ELECTIONEERING VENALITY.**

The first of these evils it is principally the object of the following pages to consider and to correct; in furtherance of which, it will be my plan to propound a series of Questions, of so simple and obvious a character, that no man, possessed of candour, and I may add (without presumption) of common sense, can withhold an affirmative answer. I shall afterwards make some allusion to the subject of TYTHES, and more particularly to the unconstitutional and unbecoming interference of aristocratical influence in our Representative system, with a view of suggesting some moderate and effective measures, to accomplish the so much desired change.

The history of the past fifteen years of this Country, from 1815 to 1830, evince to every thinking man the entire insufficiency



of any means to relieve it, permanently, and effectually, from its present oppressive embarrassments, that do not embrace a very considerable reduction, if not a total extinction of the PUBLIC DEBT. Whilst this is permitted to exist, in its present formidable and overpowering form, and no bold effort is made, in a statesmanlike manner, to reduce it within a very narrow compass, if not totally to redeem it, no such reduction of taxation can be effected, as can furnish any adequate relief to the exigencies of the people.

Expedient may succeed expedient, and minister succeed minister, in rapid and varied succession, until all expedients are exhausted, and no minister be found to encounter that public obloquy, which cannot fail of accompanying those who, however meritorious their administration on minor points, shrink from the danger this all devouring evil threatens us with, and who decline all efforts to relieve us from its fatal effects.

There is no subject, within the compass

of human intelligence, or within the grasp of human exertions, which calls so loudly for the consideration and interference of the public mind; there is no individual, be his circumstances or situation what they may, who is not deeply interested in this question, whether he regards it as affecting his own comforts and happiness, or those of others; it is, or ought to be a material object of his thoughts, and a leading object of his exertions, to contract or remove the evil.

To the poorer classes it is of a vital importance, because it deprives them of the ordinary comforts and accommodations of life, by so enhancing the price of labour, as to render employment scarce.

To the possessors of small income it creates such an augmentation in the charge of domestic expenditure as to produce, amongst some, an involuntary banishment to cheaper countries, and amongst others, a vexatious and humiliating submission to, otherwise, needless privations.\*

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\* The numerous class possessed of incomes or means

Towards the Rich and the Great, it excites such rude envy, and unruly discontent, as, sooner or later, may not only place at hazard the security of their wealth, but the safety of their persons.

Having made these few preliminary observations, I proceed to the proposed interrogatories. They are,

1st. Is not NATIONAL DEBT a national evil, as individual debt must be an individual evil?

2d. Is not NATIONAL RESOURCE,\* a na-

to the extent of from £80, to £300, are here alluded to; their complainings are more silently, though not less imperatively urged; they, by a mutual and very natural sympathy, are forming a sort of undesigned junction of discontent with their inferiors, which, when fully embodied, will form an unwieldy mass of public complaint.

\* It may be observed, that a resource like this, in the hands of an improvident minister, might render him less cautious of avoiding war, or more prone to embark in it; however, the improved state of the Representation, would go far to prevent this, if it did not wholly. I must here remark, that an occasional misapplication or perversion of a good, forms no argument against its adoption,

**tional benefit, as well as private resource is a private benefit; and if an individual should always aim at a resource against extreme occasions, should not a Nation ?**

**3d. If these be true, should not GREAT BRITAIN be not only free from the incumbrance of DEBT, but possess also a fund as a RESERVE against extreme exigencies ?**

**4th. Is not the NATIONAL DEBT of GREAT BRITAIN, mainly a debt due to the NATION, and not to any Foreign power or body ; and does it not, therefrom, possess within itself greatly, means for its REDEMPTION ?**

**5th. If the two first Questions be affirmatively answered, do they not unequivocally decide, that full and complete REDEMPTION or EXTINCTION, should be the object of a wise Minister ?**

**6th. If there is no reasonable probability of any very considerable reduction hereafter in TAXATION, without either cramping national exertion, national spirit, or press-**

ing with unjustifiable severity on individual comfort, does it not become an object of sound policy, boldly to declare so ; in order to rouse the public mind to a just sense of its duty, that its energies may be applied to its removal, and that it may no longer be tampered with, by fruitless and dangerous expedients ?

7th Would not any scheme of an Individual to pay off a debt of £800, by annual instalments of £5, be treated with ridicule ; and is the attempt on the part of a Nation, to pay off as many millions by only as few, less absurd ?\* If it is supposed for a moment, that Nations live longer to discharge debts, will it not be credited that they live longer to contract them too ? and do not the records of history convince us, that they have a much stronger tendency to the latter, than to the former ?

8th. Do not common sense and common prudence urge us to divest ourselves

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\* Yet even this small proportion is now reduced, insignificant as it was before.

of debt, or other incumbrance, in our private affairs, and rather to bear with many privations, than transmit such evils to our posterity ; and is it less prudent and less wise in a Nation so to do ?

9th. If the whole property of a nation amounts to 3200 millions of pounds, and it is indebted 800 millions, by divesting itself of so much of that property as redeems, or in more current words, discharges that debt, is not that nation as rich ? is it not richer ? does it not relieve itself not only of the public charge which is occasioned by the collection and protection of the Public Revenue, with all its enhancing accompaniments, but also, of maintaining a superfluous property, the proceeds of which is always forced away by taxation ?

10th. Is it not just in principle, as well as in practice, that all those, and those only who have property to protect, should pay for the protection of that property, and in proportion only to its extent ?

11th. Would not such a principle, esta-

blished by the Government, be in effect a **PERPETUAL ANNUAL PROPERTY CHARGE?** and is not then this the one thing needful, viz. a *bona fide* **ANNUAL CHARGE** ON all **PROPERTY, REAL and PERSONAL**, made **PERMANENT** and secure thereon?

12th. If a fund-holder of £40,000, three per Cent Stock, yielding him annually £1000, has withdrawn from him, again, £250 by the Government, in all the various ways, seen and unseen,\* through which taxation is imposed, would he not be as well circumstanced if he had at first only received £750, free from such taxation; or, in other words, permitted £10,000 of that Stock producing that £250 to be cancelled? would he not be benefitted, to the extent of what is saved, by the removal of the present expensive system of collection and protection, now amounting to many millions?

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\* By unseen Taxes, I mean all such as materially augment the cost of articles; such as the Duties on Tea, Coffee, Sugar, and many other articles of indispensable consumption. The duties on these articles more than double the price of their original cost.

13th. Would not a PROPRIETOR of LAND HOUSES, or any other Property, not Funded, be as well circumstanced, possessing a rental of £1000 per Annum, and compelled to pay annually £250 of it away in seen and unseen taxation, if he paid it in *one* integral *Sum* ; thus diminishing the expence of the present costly protection and collection, and, in so much as this reduction of expense would amount to, be entitled to a reduction in the £250 charge ?

14th. Can the LANDHOLDER, LEASEHOLDER, or PROPRIETOR of such property as cannot be divided, or will not admit of any *partial* separation, without injury to the *remainder*, or other material inconvenience, and who may not choose to borrow money to purchase his exemption from this Charge, refuse, with any fairness, to make the amount of THAT, chargeable on his estate, if requisite, compelled, as he now *forcibly* is, to pay a larger sum by other means ?

15th. Would not an act of Parliament, empowering HOLDERS of ENTAILED property, if they pleased, to sell so much of their es-



tates, as would pay off all such incumbrances, as have been, or may hereafter be imposed by the State, or by their predecessors;\* or to borrow money on security thereof, be a measure generally desirable, and very much favour the contemplated measure?

16th. Would not the circumstance of each individual, being thus made fully acquainted with the precise amount his property was permanently chargeable with, be as anxious to rid himself, by economy, if he had no *other* means to remove it, as he would be of a MORTGAGE?

17th. Is not all tax on labour, direct or indirect, seen or unseen, an enhancement of the cost of labour, or in other words of the price of it? and must it not eventually fall on the occupier of labour, whether that labour, be corporeal or intellectual?

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\* It is hardly necessary to shew why such an act should only extend to *predecessors*; it would be fatal to allow it to apply to themselves, as it would tend to encourage extravagance, and to promote ruin.

18th. Is not the price of labour, in this country, a just cause of complaint, by enhancing the cost of agricultural and manufacturing produce, particularly the latter, thus rendered less accessible to purchasers?\*

Could not GREAT BRITAIN, be an exporting Country for GRAIN if the price of labour was as low as in FRANCE, the NETHERLANDS and HOLLAND, at least equally so with such countries?

19th. Is not a tax on all COMMERCIAL undertakings, one that eventually falls on the CONSUMER, by enhancing the cost of the Products of such undertakings, and hence a

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\* That these prices are unavoidably advanced beyond even the extent of duty imposed, will be thus obviously seen. A shopkeeper, for example, who deals in Tea, must fairly require twice as much profit on 1lb. of that article when it costs him 6s. than when it would only have cost him 3s. if no such duty attached. Thus the consumer is paying the profit of 2lb of Tea on every 1lb he now buys; and when this operates through all the gradations of trade the article passes through, viz. the Merchant, the Wholesale Dealer, and the Retailer, as it does in many, the enhancement of the cost to the consumer is very sensibly felt.

nullity as far as regards the person on whom it is immediately imposed?

20th. If the necessity of a well-secured **PERMANENT CHARGE** on all real and personal property, and only on such, is thus fairly deduced, does it not call for a prompt adoption?

21st. Does not the Sale of the Land Tax for the raising a new loan under the administration of Mr. Pitt afford a practicable example, how such a property Charge may be made instrumental and effective in the **EXTINCTION** of the **NATIONAL DEBT**?\*

22d. If this **REDEMPTION** be adopted, and the Property Charge, unredeemed by the **LANDHOLDER**, be rendered marketable as the Land Tax then was, should not a preference first be given to the **LANDHOLDER** in the pur-

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\* The purchasing of the Land Tax was not so universally adopted as it would have been, had it been previously equalized. The continual increasing value of money at that period, which rendered it difficult to be obtained at the highest legal interest, also partially checked its success.

chase or redemption of this annual Charge on him ?

23d. If the FUNDHOLDER appropriates the remainder of his stock to purchase, or to enable others to purchase their unredeemed part, does not the whole debt become extinguished ; and is not such a charge at once a direct extinction of the debt, by each taking it on himself ?

24th. In the estimate of the total sum to be produced by a PROPERTY CHARGE, will not the present charge of protecting the Revenue in Excise and Custom-House Establishments, particularly when our extensive coasts are considered, form an immense amount, and when to these are added the expense of *collection*, will they not constitute a vast amount for the reduction of the total sum to be imposed ?

25th. Is not the unvaried, and approved practice of Government, in sanctioning the obligation to part with Private property, on just compensation, for Public purposes, and that to no limited extent, a fair

justification, for rendering the proposed measure obligatory ?

26th. Is it not true, that, for the purpose of accomplishing the improvements that have so extensively been undertaken in the Metropolis, and in other places, and for the erection of Docks, Canals, Railways, Buildings, Streets, and such like vast masses of property have been taken from individuals, on such principle of compensation, without any regard to their prejudices or their feelings ?

57th. Has not, in many instances, a man's whole property been taken from him, for such purposes, to the amount of some *thousands*, and in other instances a man's whole income, to the amount of several *hundreds* ; and, if it be allowable to take the whole, or the greater part of his property, for objects of comparatively small public benefit, or even for objects of mere tasteful ornament ; is it not fairly allowable, to take away a smaller part, for a much greater public benefit, and particularly, when he is sure of being a partaker, in the

latter, but may not in the former ?\*

† These questions affirmatively answered, as they must surely be, demonstrate clearly the propriety, justice, and necessity of such a permanent charge.

Such a CHARGE I shall now, for the purpose of perspicuity and brevity, call CROWN RENTAL.

Every three pounds of these CROWN RENTAL, shall constitute a CROWN DEBT of £100, chargeable on the Estate, to be redeemable at the will of the Proprietor, on six months notice, that notice, for the sake

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\* The property taken from many individuals for the new Post Office, the various Docks, Bridges, the Custom House, and more particularly the numerous improvements made in London within the last 30 years, has amounted to a *vast* sum, some millions; many individuals were paid from £2,000, to £10,000, for such property.

† One more interrogatory might have been added here, and with much feeling propriety, viz. whether property under £6,000, which according to the present value of money, is worth but £200 per annum, should not be subject to a MUCH LESS ratio? The reader is referred to a scale in the appendix, intended to introduce some conciliatory modifications.

of general convenience, to be given on the 1st January or on the 1st July in each year, or within ten days after, or to be given at any other equi-distant period.\*

These CROWN DEBTS which I will call CROWN DUES, to be represented in a tangible form, that is, by a formally expressed document, and in amounts of £100 each, that the Proprietor of the Estate may be enabled to redeem the whole, or such parts, as he may from time to time, find convenient.

The Government to give the Fundholder, for every hundred pounds, three per Cent. Stock, £100 of these CROWN DUES, bearing the same interest, not by transferring the same document, but by the issue of other, or others, expressed in larger or smaller Sums, as may be found convenient to the Government and to the Public; a propor-

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\* There is surely much equity in this; the price of land yielding now about three per cent. on the average, it places the Landholder in a situation fully as advantageous as the Freeholder.

tional amount, may be given for the other stocks.

Whatever may be the amount of these CROWN DUES, over and above the NATIONAL DEBT, will of course, be applicable to the NATIONAL EXPENDITURE, and the Government may either issue EXCHEQUER BILLS for the purpose, to the amount of the CROWN RENTALS, or, the BANK of ENGLAND may with perfect security, make advances for them, or issue notes to their amount.

The imposition of a PERPETUAL CHARGE on landed property appears on the first blush, to involve sensations, repulsive to our habitual feelings, but when it is considered that it is a CROWN DUE, and due to the Government, for the protection of that property, and not to an individual, much of this is done away, but when to this, is added the reflection, that the application of the measure is universal, and not partial, all sensation of humiliated feeling is surely at an end.

As it would be difficult to preclude the evasion of such CHARGE, on floating proper-



ty, I suggest that all monies lent on Mortgage, should be registered in the Treasury to be rendered legal.—The Clerks in this office may be sworn to secrecy, if secrecy be at all necessary, or desirable.

With respect to monies lent on personal security, I think it would be a matter of very questionable policy and prudence, if these were pursued too closely; whatever is so lent, is lent for productive purposes, and increases the powers of productive labour: Exemption in such cases, would draw a vast Capital from its hoarding places and allure it, into Agricultural, Commercial and Manufacturing Occupation, it would thus repay to the Public, more than was reserved from it; it is not so, generally, with money lent on Mortgage, such monies are generally borrowed for the purpose of fostering the pride of large possession, or to relieve the importunities of improvidence; the accumulist, and the miser, perceiving that by lending his property to his agricultural neighbour, he is exempt from the CHARGE, will be less tenacious in urging the strictness of Security. If however, it should yet be thought

desirable, to include floating property, an arrangement similar to that which was resorted to, under the Income Tax, could be adopted. A regulation of this kind could have no tendency to raise the rate of interest, it would be productive rather of the contrary effect, in as much as by reducing the prices of every thing, less Capital would be required, and its superflux would have to seek new investments, whilst former investments, would become more scarce, by the annihilation of the Public Debt ; it being obvious that the rate of interest must always rise or fall in the exact proportion as investments are more or less in demand.

In resorting to these measures, if they should be resorted to, a due regard and consideration must be paid to the situation of those who have previous thereto pecuniary claims on them. Whether in the shape of Debt, or Annuity, or elsewhere, these should be precluded from any disadvantageous situation in consequence of such adoption. If, for example, A. has a mortgage on his estate to B. for a Sum of £2,000, *before* the adoption of the measure, and B.

calls on A. to pay him off *after* its adoption, instead of A. being compelled to repay him that exact amount in currency, he should be *legally* sanctioned in paying him only the money's worth; that is, so much as would purchase the same quantities of exchangeable commodities, as the £2,000, would have done before. The proportion of the whole amount of the property tax to the whole property of the kingdom, would be a just criterion for the sum due for the debt: thus if it should be  $\frac{1}{4}$ th, then £1,500 should be a full discharge for the £2,000; and £150 for an annuity of £200 a year. The omission of all attention to this was the only evil in that otherwise important and indispensable measure, the return to a whole-some currency.

There are some few duties, however, which, from their utility as public records, it may be desirable to retain; particularly as they press no where with any unreasonable severity. Amongst these is the Legacy Duty, a duty which tends to inform the legislature of the amount of the property of the Country: this should however be diminished on small amounts.

A small duty not exceeding 5 per Cent. on all Imports and perhaps Exports tends to shew the nature and extent of their amount; but this should not be resorted to for any other purpose, or be further enhanced, lest the prices be injuriously augmented.

An almost prohibitory duty on all distilled Spirits, to check their consumption amongst the lower orders, should be imposed, Wine and Ale being exempt, as well as Malt.

The duties on Foreign Grain it may perhaps be better to leave undisturbed, until the full effect of the measure be felt, in order to allay any unfounded apprehension.

A most important question here arises.

Have not the great Landed Proprietors taken a most erroneous view of their own true interest? they seem to have been unconscious that *relative* value, (the only true and correct value,) and *current* value, (that is value in currency) *but* nominal value.\*

This error has led them to view all the regulations and legislative enactments on Grain, through a false & inverted medium ; & hence arises that disappointment, in the restrictions of the Corn Laws, which, has constantly, under all the changes and alterations which they have undergone, attended them. By their endeavours to enhance the current prices of Rent and Grain, they have always been toiling with unavailing force against the tide of consumption, which must ever be opposed to high prices, and, as consumption only can be the most safe, and permanent security for demand, such measures have uniformly generated their own counteraction ; and can never do otherwise. Experience has uniformly been instructing them, that the *relative* value is the value to be up-

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\* The relative value of Grain and Rents would be advanced if the heavy duties which are now imposed on Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Wine, Tobacco, Spice, Soap, Candles, House Rent, &c. &c., taken off ; many of these it has been before observed are more than doubled in their prices, by such duties.—Thus the Landholder and Agriculturalist would obtain more in exchange for their Rents and their Grain.

held, and the *current* value the one to be kept down ; instead, therefore, of endeavouring to raise the current prices of Rent, say from 30s. to 40s. per annum, and of Wheat, say from 40s. to 60s. per Quarter, their care, and their interest should have been, to have preserved the *lower* prices, and to have rendered these *lower* prices capable of purchasing as much of other commodities, as the *higher* prices now do.

Under the *one* system, an increased home consumption and, probably, an occasional foreign demand, at once, benefiting the community, as well as themselves, aided, as it would have been, by public estimation, would have co-operated with them ; under the *other*, all these must ever be fatally and effectually against them. The removal of Taxation is the only instrument to accomplish this ; and the removal of the Public Debt, the only means of removing Taxation.

Whoever attentively considers the operation of the Foreign Exchanges on the prices of imported and exported articles, and ulteriorly on all other articles, will readily

comprehend the important distinction, so necessary to be always preserved, between *relative* and *current* value. The general inattention to this distinction has rendered many very intelligent minds insensible, how much more the interests of Agriculture would have been impaired, if there had been no return to a wholesome currency.\*

I do not affect to pronounce that this Measure is wholly free from objection, or that it may not require some modifications; but I am bold enough to assert, that the nearer and more fully, the principle of it is adhered to, the more advantageous it will be to the public and to every individual concerned:

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\* If the present capital of the country cannot be employed with advantageous effect in agricultural purposes, can it be expected that a larger one would?

Capital has always a most greedy desire to invest itself profitably, often to its own ruin, as is evinced in the late speculations in foreign Mines, Bridges, Railways, &c. Wherever profit or the hope of profit discloses itself, there it is to be found, and where it is not found, is only where there is no such hope.

At the present and recent low rate of interest, no Capital is wanted nor can be wanting, if it can be profitably occupied; and any increase of it where it cannot, but augments the evil it was intended to correct.

it is surely enough to shew, that it is sound in its principle, safe in its adoption, and practicable in its accomplishment.

In the present state of the country, whatever effort it may be called on to make, by the wisdom of its Administration ; it will still want public feeling to secure its adoption. The cry of necessity is too imperious to be uttered unheard ; thus, every measure of national defence, or extraordinary national utility, every effort of public spirit and public munificence, will be cramped and blighted.

Who does not regret that necessity, which withholds from the defenders of their Country, in the last protracted and perilous war, that recompense and remuneration, which their active, and arduous services, so imperiously, and so justly claim ? who does not lament to see them wandering about in foreign countries, because, their own has not placed them in a condition or in circumstances to support their families in that decent respectability, they are so fairly entitled to expect. Can they, who have haz-



arded their lives and have shed their blood in their Country's service, be supposed wanting in due attachment to it? These should have every encouragement to return to their lost homes, and their pay rather enhanced, than intruded on; they ought at least to have the full benefit of the removal of taxation; nor, would the measure be the less popular, if they had.

Much is said respecting the impolicy of interfering in foreign politics: I am far from justifying a proneness in the Country to such interference; it is only extreme circumstances that can sanction it; but I ask, whether it is not better to fight such battles as we are compelled to fight, any where but on our own shores? whether, it is not wise to foster and support such a condition in Europe, as will be a security against any one leading power overwhelming its neighbour, and endangering ourselves? Have we so soon forgotten the public and private distress which the overwhelming armies of France inflicted on those parts of the Dutch, Prussian, Russian, and German States, which were the scene of their

devastation? Can we recur to this without feeling an anxious solicitude on the part of Belgium at the present crisis; who could calculate the danger of allowing her to throw herself into the arms of France, with all her valuable Forts and Fortresses? too feeble to defend herself as a separate power, can she lay claim to an independent one; for, when endangered she must always be soliciting the aid of her more powerful neighbours; and, as prudence naturally will suggest the choice of the strongest, she will be always the instrument of insecure aggrandizement to others already sufficiently powerful. What should have been our language on this portentous occasion but this, "we will not interfere with your internal policy; but, we shall expect a secure pledge that you do not permit any increase of foreign power in your territories; and, lest you yourselves should be unable to prevent it, we shall hold ourselves prepared to do so," this ought to have been our language, and our course should have been correspondent with it: but alas! our national poverty forbids, and we may yet have to struggle with tenfold difficulty, tenfold hazard, and tenfold

expendence, for the recovery of that formidable and indispensable barrier, which may have been too tamely permitted to have passed into the hands of those who may use it to our injury.\*

Some objection may be felt from the reflection that numbers would be thrown out of employ, who are now occupied in the Custom House, Excise Office, and in other pursuits connected with the Revenue, undoubtedly these should be considered, and if they were placed in nearly the same situation as the Army and Navy, that is, on half-pay for as long a period as they have been in office, they could not reasonably complain, no such half-pay should perhaps, be allowed to extend beyond £200, which sum would then be probably equal in value to £250 under the present system.

Much patronage would indeed be lost to

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\* These fortified Towns do not so much belong to Belgium as to Central Europe. They are the great Barriers of the Great Powers of that country, and have been conquered, maintained, and secured, principally, at their cost.

the Minister, but this would be more than compensated by public opinion, and public opinion is rapidly becoming the only solid support of Administration.

The obstacle which will present the most formidable opposition to the measure herein proposed for the Redemption of the Public Debt will be the apprehension that more incumbrance will be imposed than is removed: the important saving which will occur in the expence of protecting and collecting such an immense Revenue, will afford the most satisfactory means of allaying all such apprehensions and of establishing the most opposite expectations.\*

The bold front of the property Charge, may, perhaps, startle us by the sudden intrusion of its broad but honest face ; whilst, the sly scattered attacks of the present system create no alarm ; though no man can calculate, with any accuracy, the innumerable drainings he is daily exposed to, in the shape of enhanced prices occasioned by

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\* See Appendix for the probable extent of this saving.

heavy duties and their incidental charges.\*

That some excess will appear to fall on those whose expenditure is much less than their income, I am free to allow; it is the very essence of this measure to disencumber expenditure of taxation, and to impose it on property, in order to diminish the cost of consumption, and thereby increase its extent; this, however, will be but apparent, for the amount of an individual's past and future accumulations will be capable of furnishing him with so much larger a proportion of exchangeable commodities, as the amount of debt withdrawn diminishes their cost.

Timidity and prejudice however will be the leading obstructions, these are difficulties that lead us to deplore the loss of that great Minister Mr. Pitt, whose powerful and commanding eloquence was at all times able to dispel the mists that obscured the

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† The unseen taxes as I have termed them tend greatly to mislead, scarce any one knows how much he is called on to pay in this way.

light of inferior minds, and, whose determined perseverance, and unassailable integrity gave a gigantic force to all his measures and insured the success they deserved ; but, if we have not that prompt and ready resource at this needy period, we are not without men whose industry and whose ability will enable them to accomplish this great task and the other alluded to ; if they would but elevate their minds to great objects, and not be always compromising them, by tampering expedients.

The Crown in recent times has never been tardy in furthering the public interest on great public Questions, and, if the Aristocracy could only be rendered sensible of the incorrect view they take of their own interest, it is not very reasonable to conceive that their consent and co-operation would be long withheld. They have every thing to lose and little to gain ; with others it is the reverse, no unimportant consideration ; let me then remind them, that however powerful they may esteem themselves from their wealth, numerical strength is most decidedly against them ; let them re-

member, that the influence of wealth over physical force has its foundation only in public opinion, and, if the tide of that opinion once flow against them, and continue with augmented impulse, the foundation will give way and destruction ensue. Let them reflect that if, to a discontented population be once united a discontented soldiery, or if one only that may sympathize with its distress, how much their security is endangered; recent events both abroad and at home hold out a valuable lesson to them; let them not neglect it, as others have so fatally done; "their best safety lies in fear," in that fear which restrains them from a too selfish use of their own influence, and a too exclusive attention to their own interests; their best security lies not in the public force, but in the public opinion, and their best friends amongst those who will teach them this. Let them not forget, that in the estimation of many, Nature has given to Man an equal right in his native soil,\* and

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\* The bounty of providence has certainly provided the land for the support of all its inhabitants, and it seems but just that those, whose labours produce its blessings,

if the accident of society has thrown extensive domains, equal in their magnitude and value to some Principalities and Kingdoms, into the hands of a few particular and private individuals, and has left others destitute of the ordinary comforts and necessities of life, and these are goaded on to an ungovernable frenzy, by an indifference, or an inadequate regard, in the minds of the former to their wants and their complaints; the latter may begin to canvass their pristine right to such possessions, they may hastily conclude that many, who pride themselves on a long train of ancestry and are

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should be comfortably and amply maintained by it. A certain Cheshire Nobleman, of great wealth and parliamentary influence, as appears from a recent speech in the House of Lords, was however for divesting land in part of the charge of the Poor Rates, and for throwing a material portion of it on the fruits of industry and talent, as all funded and commercial property originally have been;—he was however totally silent on that point, which operated so much in his favour, viz. the overwhelming preference accruing to the Landholders, by the other members of the community being compelled to pay one fourth more for their bread corn than it could be purchased for in a foreign market, and this exclusively for their benefit—he forgot too the superior protection the Landholders possessed by the legal distinction observed between REAL and PERSONAL property; a preference they have always been very tenacious in maintaining.



induced therefrom, sometimes to consider themselves as almost belonging to another species, may not be quite so anxious to trace their property back to its first possession, as they are to trace their family back to its first founder, lest it should disclose, in its attainment, circumstances of flagrant individual injustice and usurpation, or of unwarrantable oppression in arbitrary power. Many of the immense estates in the possession of the Aristocracy of this kingdom may be traced to the Conquest; many to other events possessing as little claim to justice, and fair acquiring; many were bestowed on the mistresses of venal Monarchs or their offspring; many for the indulgence of criminal pleasures or criminal influence; and if once a disposition in the popular mind prevail, to consider their grievances as arising from, or maintained by, such extensive engrossments, they may not be very willing, if they could be supposed to be at all able, to distinguish between what has originally been meritoriously acquired, and what has been venally obtained.\* The only security

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\* All of this, and more, most offensively and coarsely

against the intrusions of such democratical opinions is in the temperate and modest use of Aristocratical influence, and in the public spirit displayed by the liberal disbursement of aristocratical wealth.

It is to those who form the great Aristocracy of this Kingdom, and to the great landed Proprietors who may be considered, in some degree, as forming a part of it, that I still must address myself; I urge them to descend for a while, as it were, from that insulated elevation which excludes them from a distinct view of the altered state of public feeling, and by an unbiassed, and diligent inspection of humbler life, learn the mischief which attends an indifference to, or a disregard of, the comforts, the necessities and the privileges of its numerous members. I urge them to consider how much they would enlarge their own gratifications

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expressed, was the substance of an harangue at a Village Inn, where the Author took shelter from the rain: the persons present were a Soldier, an Exciseman, a Pedlar, and the Parish Clerk; it is given here, to shew the temper of the times.

and enjoyments, if, instead of being surrounded by poverty, discontent and complaint, all were comfort, cheerfulness and good humour; I ask them whether their splendour would not be materially enhanced, if, instead of a ragged and half starved population murmuring in their front, as they pass from one mansion to another, they could contemplate, throughout, a well fed, well clad, well taught, contented population, the voluntary auxiliaries of their state, ready to rank themselves in its maintenance, and support; and, I ask them further, whether their interest would not be materially enlarged by the vast increased consumption of agricultural and manufacturing produce, which such an improved population must occasion. It is not to be concealed that the removal of both these evils, rests mainly if not wholly with them; let them abandon their influence to uphold the one,\* and exert their influence to remove the other,† & they will not only promote their own enjoyments, but they will improve their own true interest. It is the only measure of their securi-

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\* Electioneering Venality.

† The Public Debt.

ty, the only means for their permanent protection. Let them rally round that minister whose maste -mind has courage to undertake, and perseverance to accomplish, these important objects.

The principle of the measure, suggested in these pages, for the redemption of the public debt, will be found equally applicable to the removal of Tythes, by an arrangement which shall secure to the lay Impropiator, from the proprietor of the Estate, on which tythes are due, such an annual, well secured payment, as will be a fair compensation for the perpetual abandonment of the tythes. The objection, that tythes are now payable by the Tenant, is not a valid one, because, in proportion as the tenant is released from incumbrances, so much more is the value of the rental, and consequently of the estate enhanced.

The same arrangement is also applicable to such Tythes as still remain appropriated to the use of the Church ; the arrangement, in this case, may be consigned to the Church-wardens, or to such ostensible per-

sons, as the Church may repose just confidence in. An act of Parliament must, of course, be resorted to, to empower and to compel parties to enter into such permanent arrangements.

I close this treatise with some suggestions towards a moderate, easy, and satisfactory amendment in our Electioneering system.

No principle can be so just and reasonable, as that which allows those, who contribute towards the support of the State, a vote for the representatives who are to controul its expenditure; all those, and those only, should therefore constitute the Electors, and, if the right of voting be not fixed on too low an estimate of their annual contribution, it will be formed from a body, whose means render them less susceptible of unbecoming influence or degrading temptations in their choice.\* The admission of

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\* Perhaps about £15, or £20, might, under the mode of liquidating the Public Debt here proposed, be an eligible ratio,—under our present taxation, £5, to £10.

The Collector of the District will always possess the means for ascertaining the qualifications of a Voter.

personal property thus into the representation would not impair the preponderance in favor of the Landed interest; because, it would receive a very large body of Farmers into it, capable of paying their contribution. The object of a vote would also prevent the temptation to escape the charge proposed.

Such an accession of Voters must find means to vote or places to vote for; this may be done by enacting that no Member should be returnable, who had not been elected by a certain number of voters (say about 1000;) to accomplish this, all such boroughs, as are not capable of producing this number, should be required to admit extra voters, to enable them to preserve their privilege; or members for such boroughs may be turned over to Counties, and such voters be allowed to vote for Counties.

Perhaps the more simple and perfect plan, would be to divide the number of the whole representation by the number of Counties, considering Yorkshire as two or three, and let Counties ONLY, be the places represented.

The voters to be taken by the Collector of the District at his or their own homes, under proper regulations and protections, to save needless time and expense to the Electors.

These Regulations, comprised under three heads only, viz. Qualification for voting, Means for voting, and Mode of voting, accomplish all the remedy that the Nation requires, they exclude all undue influence, degrading conduct, and unequal representation; and Reform works its own sure way.

It is vain to say, that the interference of the Aristocracy in the election of the Commons is not a gross, indecent and insulting intrusion on their privileges;\* it is vain to say, that the depravity and drunkenness, attendant upon the system of opening Public houses at Elections, is not a gross breach

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\* The Aristocracy would act prudently to avoid every occasion for suspicion of a taste for trespassing on the privileges of the people, lest they create a taste in the people for interfering in the privileges of the Aristocracy. I speak of them as a body, there are very many most honorable and patriotic exceptions among them.

of all public morals ; it is vain to say, that a borough, containing only a few individuals who are constantly dunning the Minister for preferments or appointments through the medium of their Representatives, can be otherwise than a breach of the Constitution ; it is vain to say, that this system “works well,” when it works all these ills ; and it is vain to say, that private, vested or established rights preclude a removal of such gross evils ; such private, vested, or established rights are but public and private wrongs, and should be promptly swept away, as an insult to the Nation, and as an offence to God ; they never formed any part of the constitution, but have gradually intruded themselves through the accidents of time, the relaxations of patriotism, or the misapplications of authority, through local transitions, or venal perversions.

The change, which has taken place in the councils of his Majesty so recently, and since the foregoing observations have been committed to paper, confirms the representation here given of the public mind ; whilst, the circumstance, which gave rise to that change, demonstrates how much the influ-



ence of patronage and party is giving way to public opinion; and, although that opinion is very far from possessing its full sway, yet every approximation is the harbinger of further improvement.

It will belong to the successors of the late Administration, if they wish to gain credit for sincerity, to take on themselves, promptly and actively, that Reformation in our Representation, which they themselves have been so loudly and so long calling for. The Nation has not forgotten their denunciations against the present system, and it will most assuredly expect more from them towards correction than from their predecessors. It will belong to them too, to exert all their talents, their energy and their influence to remove and wholly to remove that overwhelming and devouring evil, the Public Debt; this should not be suffered any longer to exist, it should be wholly done away; there is no palliative, no qualifying alternative in the shape of a partial reduction, that can allay the pestilential irritation which its malignant effects are every where diffusing. They should not rest content

with one or two millions of annual reduction in the public expenditure; they should not only do away every unnecessary expense, attending that expenditure; they should not only in one grand effort totally remove this ponderous and ruinous incumbrance; but they should erect a barrier, a firm and irresistible barrier, against its future intrusion, by providing a competent and permanent resource;\* all compromise will be dangerous, will be fatal; every remnant, every vestige of this pernicious and unwieldy production of past improvidence, that may be suffered to remain, will have a constant tendency to shoot out afresh, and again spread its noxious influence over a suffering land.

The minister who has courage, firmness, and perseverance to conquer these two formidable and destructive enemies of the public welfare, has little to fear, if he arms him-

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\* I do not say that on a very extreme occasion, and until such time may have elapsed as shall have admitted of some accumulation of this Annual Resource, the Government might not innocently recur to a Loan, but then, this should not be too excessive, and should be to such an amount only, as a few years of this proposed Resource, would be competent to repay.

self with the secure weapon of public Estimation. Opposition may for a moment raise its feeble voice in selfish and fretful cries, but another appeal to the Country would at one blow annihilate it for ever. Such objects, loudly and boldly announced, would be invincible; such objects, attained, would relieve the Crown from that embarrassment, to which it has been of late years exposed, in forming an united and permanent administration; it would restore the Aristocracy to that respect and estimation, which it lately was so much the regret of a certain Nobleman,\* had passed away. It would consolidate the Empire, and give a new impulse and vigour to all its exertions, whether political, agricultural or commercial.

What a glorious era is this for the commencement of a new reign! a new administration! what a conquest would be here obtained! a nation's rights restored! a nation's wrongs subdued! National health! National vigour! National prosperity! re-established and enhanced!

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\* See Lord Wilton's crying Speech at the Manchester meeting, in the presence of the late Minister on the opening of the Railway.

What a proud display is here to the admiring and reviving world ! a patriot King ! a patriot Minister ! disdaining the mean resources of patronage and party, destroying for ever all venal influence, and pursuing his steady and firm course on the secure footing of public estimation ; thus commanding at once, and for ever, a Nation's gratitude and a Nation's praise ; adding new lustre and brilliancy to the Monarch's throne, and exalting the reign of a Fourth William, to equal, if not superior, dignity to that of a Third.

As regards the Public Debt, I trust I have shewn its fatal tendency, and the imperious necessity which exists for its total Removal ; I trust I have shewn the impolicy and danger of its Resumption, and how it may be for the future prevented. I trust I have shewn the practicability of its Redemption, by the suggestion of a competent Alternative. I trust I have shewn how that Alternative may be rendered practicable, by the well known precedent of the Land Tax Redemption Act, and how, by other well known acts, it may be rendered not un-

palatable.\* And I trust I have shewn that, if the Measure suggested be faithfully adhered to and no greater charge be imposed than the amount of Taxation withdrawn,† the public incumbrances will be materially diminished.

As regards purity of Election, I trust I have shewn that, without any dangerous innovation or hazardous change, the vessel of the Constitution would right itself, and all fair cause of discontent be removed; and these by two very simple measures, viz. Investing the Qualification for Electors with all those and those only who contribute above some stated Amount to the State, and applying such extra votes to such Boroughs as are so venally narrowed in their number. The receiving of the votes, through the medium of the District Collector, is rather an incidental arrangement arising out of the other two, than a separate and distinct one.

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\* See the Acts alluded to in pp. 18 and 19, containing compensatory clauses.

† Few, if any, can estimate the amount they now pay in indirect Taxation.

All these I have shewn, and I trust, in plain, distinct, and intelligible terms, disentangled from all flighty speculations or visionary schemings, and without diving into the tortuous labyrinth of political Economy, or the more subtile obscurities of State policy; they are open to every ear, familiar to every mind, and he who runs may read and understand them.

It will be my endeavour on some future occasion to demonstrate how prejudicial *any* increase in the circulating medium of a Country, that is, in its currency, if at all of an artificial character, is to its manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and how much more so, to agricultural produce, than to the other two;\* so various and contradictory are the opinions given on this subject, that it seems to require some plain and distinct reasoning to adjust them.—The distinction between current value, and relative value will, there, be more actively urged and illustrated.

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\* The renewal of the Bank Charter, now about to be considered, renders the present period a very fit one for discussing this question,—that if further restriction on our artificial Currency be deemed advisable, it may be adopted.

The disregard of this important distinction, occasioned, in this country, this extraordinary phenomenon ; that at the very moment in which we were complaining of a population too large for support, we were complaining of a production too large for consumption ; and have been for driving that population abroad, which alone can promote that consumption, and which could not fail of doing so, if we did not legislate sometimes erroneously, sometimes for individual, rather than general, good. Nature and common sense alike revolt at this monstrous and absurd contradiction ; they teach us, distinctly, that increase of population should be met by increase of production, and that it is no less impolitic than it is unfeeling and unjust, to urge Emigration, whilst our lands are in any state short of the most improved, as well as the most extended cultivation : that they are still very far short of this, no one, I presume, will hesitate to pronounce, and, if so, we have yet the means of furnishing that population with much productive labour, and consequently of benefiting the country by rendering such population a very extensively consuming one.

It has been ably shewn, by the acute Author of the "Wealth of Nations," that their wealth consists in the greatest quantity of productive labour they can constantly give action to ; and of all such labour Agricultural is certainly the most abundant, the most natural, the most healthful, the most moral, and consequently the most deserving of legislative attention and encouragement.

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The Reader will perceive by a reference to p. 21, that the effect of this MEASURE would be, that every individual would take his share of the Public Debt on himself. The situation of the Fundholder allows him, at all times, the opportunity of redeeming his share ; the Landholder and the proprietor of other species of property, would be possessed of the agreeable and convenient privilege of redeeming their share from the Government, either wholly or in part, from time to time, in commodious sums of £100 each : this accommodation the Government would at all times, possess the means of rendering, through the right it originally



possessed of paying off the per Cent. Stock at par; which right, it will be but fair, they should retain over the CROWN DUES.

It would be needless to state that the CROWN DUES alluded to, could not fail of being as acceptable to the Public Creditor as Stock, since he would not only possess the Security of the Government, but ultimately, that of the Land; the Government holding the counter Security of such Landholders, as may not find it convenient to redeem their Shares.

The Government, under this Measure, is in fact but an Agent between the Public Creditor and the Landholder, to adjust the Redemption of the Landholder's share of the Debt, on a principle the most favorable to their mutual interest, and their individual feeling.

The amount of the whole charge of protecting, collecting, and disbursing the Public Revenue abroad and at home, will be found most probably to amount to, at least, an eighth part, some estimate it higher;

estimating it however only at a ninth, the result under the proposed measure would be as follows :

Amount in round numbers of the Public expenditure,	56,000,000
SAVING in the Collection, Protection, &c.	6,000,000
Interest of the Public Debt to be redeemed,	28,000,000
	34,000,000
NEW REVENUE to be provided, - - - - -	22,000,000
RESOURCE against future War, or other extraordinary occurrence, - - - - -	2,000,000
RESERVE for encouraging the Fine Arts, Literature, &c.	1,000,000
TOTAL NEW REVENUE to be provided, - - - - -	25,000,000

But, by the abolition of the duties on various Commodities, it may be presumed that 20,000,000*l.* would purchase what 25,000,000*l.* does now, consequently 20,000,000*l.* only would be requisite ; the amount allotted for the Sinking Fund, would come in aid of further reduction, that reserve becoming needless.

In the event of a long period of public tranquility, a considerable accumulation of the proposed Resource would consequently accrue ; a prudent portion of this may be then safely applied to the annual Expenditure of the Country ; thus, this Measure would not only be available for extraordinary exigencies, but be greatly instrumental in precluding all future calls on the Public, by providing it with an established fund against all exigencies, ordinary and extraordinary.

In order the more fully to satisfy the

Public mind of the fair dealing of the proposed Measure, and to display its advantages in the broadest light, it would be prudent to move in Parliament for the following information.

The amount of the annual produce of the under-mentioned Duties, Taxes, and Assessments in the Years 1828, 1829, and 1830, to be separately stated, viz.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1st. On each imported Article                            | Of the Legacy duty  |
| On each exported ditto (if any)                          | Of the Probate duty                                       |
| On each article of home production, vegetable or mineral | Of the Auction duty                                       |
| On Inhabited houses                                      | Of the Post-Office duty                                   |
| Of the other assessed Taxes                              | Of every other source of Revenue, (separately stated)     |
| Of the produce of the Land Tax redeemed, and unredeemed, | Of the amount of the Fees of all Courts of Law and Equity |
| Of the produce of the Stamp duties                       |   |
- 2d. The amount of all expenses in collecting and disbursing the Public Revenue, for 1828, 1829, and 1830.
- 3d. The amount of all expenses of protecting the same, whether of a civil, military, or naval description, for the same years.
- 4th. The amount of the funded and unfunded Debt.

A motion for an account of the number of Voters for each Borough and Cinque Port, would also be useful, if the measure proposed for the improvement of the Representation should be contemplated.

These accounts correctly stated, and faithfully laid before the Public eye, both in their aggregate and detailed amount, would furnish so plain and familiar a statement, as would scarcely fail of ensuring public conviction in favor of the measure. Having before them the total amount of the Public Incumbrance with that of the Public

Debt, and the cost of collecting and protecting the public Revenue, the Public would readily ascertain the sum wanted for future Revenue, by subtracting the two latter from the former. They would also, by deducting the amount of the cost of the collection and protection of the Revenue, from the amount of the unfunded and funded Debt, readily ascertain the diminished sum which would form the total amount of the proposed Annual Charge or Crown Rentals; and having before them every object now forming a source of Revenue, they could not only fully satisfy themselves that the whole amount of the Duties and Taxes to be withdrawn, fully equalled the Charge imposed, but also that they were withdrawn from such as were most offensive and oppressive.

The amount of the Revenue which would in future be required, could be met without inconvenience: the imposts would probably amply provide, not only for the then annual expenditure, but for the two important resources recommended in page 56.

On all eligible protecting duties

A heavy duty on all spirituous Liquors

A moderate duty on Tobacco

A small ad valorem duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on all Imported articles used in manufacture

The Post Office duty	A small duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all
The Legacy duty	Exported articles not manufac-
Fees of Courts to be applied to the	tured from Imported ones on
judicial Establishments	which any duty has been imposed

The Fees of Courts are well known to be excessive, and to flow, in many instances, into very unjustifiable channels; these, thoroughly investigated and properly applied, would not only be more than adequate to provide, and liberally to provide, for the salaries of all the Judges, not even excluding the Chancellor himself, but for the whole judicial establishment of the country. There is no object which calls more loudly for investigation than this.

The repeal of the Wine duties would more than compensate for the high duty on Spirituous Liquors; it might bring home many absentees, and would probably promote much commercial intercourse with France and Germany.

The proposed duty on Imports and Exports could not be objected to as in any material degree enhancing cost, because the reduced value of labour would be more than commensurate to it. The system of levying duties, ad valorem, is so much more fair, that it would be desirable to adopt it in every possible case: an act that required all imported goods, manufactured or not, at *first hands* to be sold by public sale, would accomplish this: most articles of East and West India produce are now so sold, and the increased competition which is excited by the congregating together of buyers, by this method, renders it one of very general approbation.

The Auction duty is an oppressive one; it falls mostly on Goods and Furniture the property of the distressed: if reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on all property it would become

much more productive; the present high duty induces many sellers of estates to resort to private contract, who would otherwise prefer a public sale, from the superior competition it excites.

The Stamp duty is also oppressive; it renders the avenue to justice expensive; interferes heavily with pecuniary accommodations; obstructs the publicity of literary and scientific works by rendering advertisements costly, and is besides, a very expensive establishment.

The Malt duty is injurious to Agriculture.

The House and Window duty are too universally complained of to need any comment here.

The Post Office duty is the best managed establishment of the country; the public cannot reasonably expect their letters to be conveyed on more reasonable terms.

*A SCALE for a Property Charge, on which is to be founded a Crown Due; intended as an illustration of the Plan in p. 21, and the modifications intimated in Note to p. 20.*

Sc	An	* pro	pr	ct		Sc	An	* pro	pr	ct		Sc	An	* pro	pr	ct		sc	An	* pro	pr	ct
1	100	1				10	1000	10				19	1900	14 $\frac{1}{2}$				28	40000	22		
2	200	2				11	1100	10 $\frac{1}{2}$				20	2000	15				29	50000	23		
3	300	3				12	1200	11				21	2500	15 $\frac{1}{2}$				30	60000	24		
4	400	4				13	1300	11 $\frac{1}{2}$				22	3000	16				31	70000	25		
5	500	5				14	1400	12				23	4000	17				32	80000	26		
6	600	6				15	1500	12 $\frac{1}{2}$				24	5000	18				33	90000	27		
7	700	7				16	1600	13				25	10000	19				34	100000	28		
8	800	8				17	1700	13 $\frac{1}{2}$				26	20000	20				35	150000	29		
9	900	9				18	1800	14				27	30000	21				36	200000	30		

N. B. The columns marked \* denote the present nett annual value of each person's property: for every 3*l.* of which the proposed charge

or Crown Rental according to this ratio, shall amount to, there shall be cancelled 100*l*. 3 per cent. Stock on Funded property ; and for every 3*l*. of all other property, a Crown Due of 100*l* shall be established and secured thereon : such Crown due to be rendered marketable by a tangible representative document. It is not intended to be said that the per centage stated therein should be the exact one : that, must be regulated by the amount required ; all that is purposed is, to make a considerate and feeling gradation.

Baronets to be rated one scale lower, and Peers two, for the support of their rank.

All Church property, in the hands of the Laity, to be chargeable.

All Church property, applicable to the Clergy, being but a life interest, cannot well be made tributary to the Public Debt : it is recommended therefore, that in lieu of appropriating any part of it to Revenue, to apply it to the augmentation of all such Livings, as are under £300 nett per annum, conformably to the above scale, Livings under £300 nett, of course to be exempt from the charge. Pluralities of Livings in all cases to be considered as one.

Estates, having annuities chargeable on them, to be allowed to deduct the amount of them before they are rated, and each annuity to be rated at its separate amount ; Crown Dues however to be rated to the full, that the Government may not lose the benefit of the whole, when the estate becomes relieved of such Annuities.

To prevent evasions, all leases, those already in existence as well as those hereafter granted, to be registered at the Town-Hall of each County Town, with the Rents, and premium ( if any ) stated. Such property as is unleased, to be valued by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, of unimpeachable integrity and respectability.

Every Scale to be allowed a vote for the Representation; Parties redeeming their share of the Public Debt not to lose their right of voting. Perhaps it might be found eligible to allow the introduction, in part, of the system of Election now prevalent with the East India Company, with a view of more fully preserving a preponderance of Property in the Representation, thus

From Scale 1 to 6	might be allowed 1 vote.
7 to 12	..... 2 votes.
13 to 18	..... 3 votes.
19 to 24	..... 4 votes.
25 to 30	..... 5 votes.

FINIS.















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